

565 commoners, but in that case their children are not *tsunaun*, and
 595 there is no possibility of their acquiring that status either by
 611 courtesy or by reason of any ceremonial procedure or by payment. Children by a woman who is *tsunaun* in her own right in another village are given their full meed of honour in that village, even though they may live with their father's people. They receive a measure of recognition in their father's village, but cannot succeed to the headship there. To illustrate by a concrete case: Rus, Pinari's chief wife, to whom he had been betrothed in childhood, was the sister of the *tsunaun* of the village of Ieta, on the southern coast of Buka, across Buka Passage. She had an elder sister, Kiots, whose son, Gerwan, was the next in succession at Ieta, but after his death, Wasē, son of Rus and Pinari, would be *tsunaun* at Ieta. Owing, as Pinari said, to his fear of 'poison', and as other people said, to pressure from his father, who was anxious to keep him among his followers, Wasē decided, on the death of his mother's elder brother, with whom he had been staying, to return and take up his residence at Kurtatchi. Here he was treated with respect as the son of Pinari, but it was explained to me that he was only 'half-*tsunaun*' in that village, and was definitely inferior in position to Kakari, Pinari's 'sister's' son. Pinari pushed him to the fore as much as he could, and did his best to play him against Kakari, whom he covertly disliked. Actually Wasē took quite a prominent part in the affairs of the village, and was to share with Kakari the responsibility for organizing the *watawut* ceremony under Pinari's tuition.

565 A woman who is *tsunaun* may marry a commoner if she likes
 582 him, and if he can produce the necessary large amount of cere-
 611 monial currency. The children of such a marriage are *tsunaun*; the fact that their father was a commoner makes no difference at all.

565 Although it may easily happen that a *tsunaun* is possessed of
 754 special knowledge of some particular kind of magic, this is inci-
 789 dental to his position and not essentially connected with it. Magical knowledge is just as often the property of commoners. Sobak, one of the rain-makers of Kurtatchi, is a commoner. Pinari, the *tsunaun tʃan*, took the principal part at the ceremony for planting a new taro garden described in Chapter IX, but at a precisely comparable ceremony performed for a taro garden belonging to Tabut, that role was filled by a commoner. Examples might be multiplied. But those who are *tsunaun* are regarded as specially

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liable to come to harm through black magic, or, as they call it, 'poison', which will probably be made against them by those who are jealous of their power, though I do not think there is any implied suggestion that a *tsunaun*'s direct heirs would try to kill him in order to succeed to the headship of the lineage. Their danger is never far from the minds of members of the *tsunaun* lineage. It is responsible for some at least of the ritual surrounding the lives of all who are *tsunaun*. On the occasion of a ceremony performed for the child Wantias, I asked why wailing by the women, resembling the ritual wailing for the dead, played such a prominent part in the proceedings, and was told that it was because they were sorry for Wantias, who would probably meet his death by poison because he was *tsunaun*. [852]

RELATIONSHIP SYSTEM

Returning again to the single individual who was our starting-point, we have now to examine his position in regard to the people to whom he is connected by ties either of blood or marriage. The relationship system is, as is to be expected in Melanesia, of the kind termed 'classificatory', in which the same term is applied to a number of individuals standing to the person who uses the term in different physiological relationships, varying much in the nearness of the blood tie between them. But in using these terms he does not lose sight of such distinctions, although they are not expressed in his nomenclature. There are always certain people who stand closer to him than others to whom he applies the same relationship term, while those who are actually farthest removed in blood, especially if also distant in residence, may mean to him almost nothing, although, when questioned, he includes them in his application of the term.¹ In every case, relatives who are also

¹ The rendering of a Melanesian relationship term by an English word belonging to our own relationship system is unsatisfactory, because it can hardly fail to suggest a spurious similarity in connotation to that which we habitually associate with the word chosen as a translation. But it would be difficult to render a native system intelligible without proceeding to the unfamiliar by way of the familiar, and it has therefore been customary to adopt, as a conventional translation for each term, the English name for the relative who, of all those to whom the term is applied, stands physiologically nearest to the individual. For example, the word applied to the mother, mother's sister, father's sister, father's other wives, father's brother's wife, &c., is conventionally translated 'mother'. This may serve so long as it is made clear that there is no confusion in the mind of the native speaker between the various individuals to whom he applies the term, and that a very definite distinction is always present between

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593 The time when the girl is handed over to her husband is, in every case, judging both from what I have seen and from what the girls themselves have told me, a period of strain. It not infrequently happens that the young wife, whether from actual fear or merely from shyness, runs away before the marriage can be consummated, and takes refuge with her mother. Her mother is supposed to bring her back, together with an offering of ceremonial pudding, but sometimes much persuasion, or even force, is necessary before she can be induced to return. An instance of this came under my personal observation. Gerigir is a young man of perhaps nineteen or twenty, his wife, Kalo, perhaps thirteen or fourteen. She belongs to a village several miles distant. She did not want to be married, and has frequently run away and returned to her mother. On one occasion she stayed away for several months, and this came to the notice of Pinari, who keeps a sharp eye on all that happens in his village. He finally asked Gerigir why his wife was not living with him. It turned out that he had never consummated the marriage. He said she always ran away from him. Pinari sent him, with some other people, to fetch her. I went with the party. When we got there, Kalo hid herself inside her mother's hut, crying bitterly, and nothing would persuade her to come. Her mother refused to force her, and finally we had to return without her. Another deputation was sent over next day, and out of shame her mother made her go; she was brought into Kurtatchi, still crying. She stayed a couple of weeks, during which the marriage was consummated, and then ran away again. Gerigir was shortly afterwards discovered in a compromising situation with one of Pinari's wives, and thought it prudent to absent himself from Kurtatchi, so he went and lived in his wife's village, from which he had not returned when I left.

- 789 The following 'medicine' may be used by a man whose wife frets for her mother:

[824] *Kakariuk* (*Selaginella flabellata*).

Take the leaves of this fern and mix them with *oin*, and rub this mixture on to the girl's hair. This will make her cease to long for her mother and she will stay with you.

593 The outset of her married life is a trying time for the girl. Muben was a pathetic figure for many weeks after her marriage with Kakari (Pl. 9), who, having a septic foot and other affairs of

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If a woman is angry with her husband, her method of retaliation is to go off to her own people, if her village is within reach, taking the youngest child with her. This usually brings the husband over within a day or two, with entreaties to return, because he cannot bear to be parted from his baby. Sometimes his wife will persistently refuse to come back for a long time, and there will be talk of a divorce, but in the end she will relent. This happened again and again in the course of my stay at Kurtatchi.

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There is 'medicine' to make a runaway wife come back:

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If your wife runs away from you, get some of the leaves of the plant *rakot*, squeeze out the sap, then get some one to steal your wife's pipe, put some of the sap inside the pipe and have it given back to her. As she smokes it her thoughts will turn to you and she will come back.

Sometimes marital quarrels end in the suicide of one or other of the pair. This question is discussed in further detail in Chapter XIV. Suffice it to say in the present context that the examples which came to my notice—by hearsay, however, only—lead me to suggest that these people do not support Havelock Ellis's suggestion that 'among primitive peoples suicide from erotic motives seems to occur chiefly among women' (1933, p. 277).

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SOME TYPICAL MARITAL HISTORIES

The information given in the preceding paragraphs was obtained from several informants at different times, and where occasion arose was corroborated by my own observation. Several of the points are illustrated by the matrimonial adventures of Pinari, the *tsunaun tsan* at Kurtatchi, which may be considered typical, except that most men content themselves with three or four wives to Pinari's eleven, of whom, however, only four are now living.

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Marital history of Pinari

1. He was betrothed to Rusu, a woman of rank at Ieta, when both were young. She bore him six children, of whom three are living, now adult and married. She had been dead for some years when I was at Kurtatchi, but was always spoken of by Pinari as if he had cared for her.

2. Tchinagot. Was married to Pinari when she was quite a small child, as his second wife, but died before the marriage was consummated. Pinari regretted this very much. He said she was 'very good'.

3. Tchinawoa. Died with her first child, who died also.

4. Tauwo. Had two children by Pinari, one died in infancy, the other is now about six or seven, and is looked after by Pinari. She has

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had two children. Pinari married her after Soli's death, and took one child. The other is being looked after by Soli's people at the village of Ruri. No children by Pinari. 595

11. Sang. Widow of Boie, son of Pinari's mother by another husband. At Boie's death Pinari took her according to custom. She has one child, whom Pinari also took. Pinari said she had no children by him 'yet'. She was still wearing her hair in the fashion of widows when I came to the village, but cut it while I was there. I think Boie had been dead for about a year. [587] [302] 765]

At the time of my visit, Pinari was negotiating for a girl at the village of Ieta, on Buka, from which his first wife came. He had been over several times to try to get her, but she did not want him and always ran away into the bush. Her family were in favour of the match, so he probably got her in the end, but they were not forcing her. One night a storm blew down a large tree in the near neighbourhood of the village, blocking the road to it. Pinari told me that he was sure it was caused by magic made by Gomar to spite him, because she was angry that he wished to take another wife. [789]

While he quite clearly prefers Kwimau to any of the others, Pinari pays quite a lot of attention to all his wives, and to their children, whether they are his own or belong to a former husband. He is generous with tobacco, and when he goes to a plantation to sell copra he often brings them some little present from the store. [157]

As a further example of the marriages that take place among these people, I give the history of Sobak, who is a commoner.

Marital history of Sobak

1. Sobak's first wife was Sieli, to whom he was betrothed when both were young. They had no children for some time, then there was a son, who is now about ten. Sieli has been dead for some years. 593

2. His second was Niwuts, whom he married when he was older but she quite a child. He divorced her 'because she had a sore' (probably a tropical ulcer, these being frequent and often very bad in this region). He told me that he said to her: 'You go back to your own village, I don't want to be married to you.' There were no children. She now lives alone at Gowē, a village farther down the coast. She has not remarried. [586] [164]

3. His third, with whom he lives at present, is Tsonakets, who was previously divorced from Takoi of Hanahan (a village on the east coast of Buka), for what reason I do not know. Takoi told Sobak he could have her if he liked. Sobak consulted Pinari, who approved, and had her brought over to Kurtatchi. She has a son, now in his teens, whom

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for medicines for healing sickness, these being all in the same category in the native's mind. I have a large number of such 'prescriptions' in my collection, some given me under pledge of secrecy. It will be noted that some of them also include an antidote, for use when the affair has become tiresome. Incidentally, I gathered that they may, sometimes, attract the wrong woman.

Both the two most powerful magical substances known to these natives, *sisiva* and *magor* (see pp. 474-6), are employed in love-magic, and also a vast array of plants, many having aromatic properties which are doubtless the cause of their being selected.

Sisiva is used in the following manner:

To make a woman love you, get some leaves of the plant *rarakot* and powder some *sisiva* on to them. Rub the two together and smear the mixture on to a piece of tobacco which you then give to the woman whom you desire. Then take a little more *sisiva* and make it hot over the fire. As she smokes the tobacco, and as the *sisiva* gets hot, so she will become warmed towards you, and the next day she will come to you. She will be hot with desire for you, and you will copulate and copulate. When you are tired of her, and want the affair to come to an end, take a little *sisiva* and put it into water, her passion will then be cooled.

Sisiva may also be used to take revenge on a woman who refuses you her favours.

If you are angry with a woman because she will not have intercourse with you, powder a little *sisiva* into the palm of your hand, get some food belonging to the woman, or some of her pepper-stick or areca-nut, sprinkle the powder on it, and give it to her to eat. On some pretext get a piece of it back from her, put a little more powder on it, and throw it into the fire. Then the woman will have sores come out on her skin. If she will not give you the piece back, you cannot make this medicine.

Magor is used thus:

To make a woman love you, chew some *magor* with the betel-mixture, remaining silent the while. Spit out the mixture in the direction of the woman you want while you are both dancing. She will then come and take hold of you, and will desire you.

This was the medicine made by Pinari to obtain the affection of Gomar, and by Pasab for Erut.

Another, more elaborate method, invokes the aid of the *urar* (spirits of the dead).

If you wish to make a woman desire you, you can make this medicine.

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832 with it, she will warm towards you, and will go and wait for you in the bush, you will go after her and have intercourse with her.

Some of these 'medicines' are directed towards the very practical end of making the person attractive. They frequently take the form of a package wrapped up in a leaf, containing a mixture of bits of dried leaves, sticks, bark, &c., to be soaked in coco-nut oil before use, and intended to be rubbed on the skin before meeting with the object of one's affections. Some of them may be used by either sex to attract the other, but one, a sample of which was brought to me in great secrecy, was accompanied by the information that it was taboo for women to see this preparation. Another form of magic which may be used by both sexes, is to wrap up the leaves of any one of certain plants, most of which possess aromatic properties, in the form of a cigar, which is given to the coveted partner; as it is smoked, desire is engendered. One man told me he paid 10s. (in our money) to the mountain people for a mixture to make a woman want to marry him. He did not know what was in it, but was told to chew it before he went to the woman.

1436 The use of sticks to spite a woman who refuses her favours has already been mentioned. Another method of taking revenge is as follows:

1437 If the woman you want goes to another man, chew the root of this (a species of yam) with the best mixture, spit some of the mixture on to your nose, and kiss the woman. Then spit some more on to a man's head and strike the woman with it, then bury it under a tree. The effect of this will be to make the woman menstruate all the time, so that your rival cannot enjoy her.

832 A curious way of taking revenge upon a woman for the misdeeds of her brother, the only 'prescription' of its kind in my collection, is directed against a man who has seduced the sister of the individual who uses it. It comes from Petats.

824 Go to the bush and break off a joint of the stem of the plant *gealingala* (Petats dialect), at the same time calling the name of the woman, and saying:

'*Tor i mado takats nan.*' ('May your belly be no good.')

Call your own name also. Then take the bit of stem and fasten it over your bed, where the wind will catch it and make it rustle. This will cause a rumbling in the woman's belly. At night you must get up and clap your hands, turning towards this piece of stem. At that moment the woman will wake up and feel ill, and will think of you. In the morning

PREGNANCY AND CHILD BIRTH

842 as the Maganda of Africa for an instance of the belief 'that bananas
624 have power to effect fertility in women and of themselves cause
171 pregnancy' (1927, p. 274).

842 Belief in the possibility of conception without intercourse is
624 explicitly stated in the following 'prescription', which was given
• 781 to me, with a specimen of the plant named *k5* (this has not been
identified), in the course of an investigation into the uses of plants
as 'medicines', entirely apart from any discussion on child-bearing,
a circumstance which, in my opinion, increases its value as evidence.

[845] If you have a grudge against a woman for refusing you her favours,
take the bud at the top of a sprig of *k5*, and put it below the door at the
tabots (women's entrance) of her hut. When she has passed over it she
will bear twins, even if she does not have intercourse with a man.

842 There seems to be sufficient evidence to justify the statement
171 that, on the north coast of Bougainville, belief in the possibility of
impregnation without intercourse occurs among a people who are
acquainted with physiological paternity. The words used by F. E.
Williams in describing a somewhat similar state of affairs among
the natives of the Morehead River, Papua, so exactly express my
own view, that I cannot refrain from quoting them: 'I think we
cannot escape the conclusion that these two theories . . . exist
together, and that the second is generally accepted and over-
rides the first; but that the natives, despite the inconsistency of the two
theories, can at different times express a sincere belief in each
of them' (1933, No. 128).

CONTRACEPTIVES

842 Recognition of physical paternity is clearly implied in the wide-
spread use of 'medicines' to prevent conception. This knowledge
is common to both sexes, and the practice is freely discussed. The
'medicines' are employed chiefly to avoid complications in the
course of clandestine amours. Their use by married couples is
rare, children being much desired. But one man told me that he
had given one of them to his wife after the birth of their sixth
child, saying that their family was now large enough.

842 A number of different plants are used for this purpose. One of
824 the most widely known, judging from the fact that it was given
me by three independent informants, from the three villages of
Kurtachi, Tabot, and Banu, is the fern called in the Kurtachi
dialect *anaw* (*Lygodium dichotomum* Sw.). The Petam people call

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in which sexual incidents took a prominent place. The telling of even the most outspoken of these by small boys or girls gave rise to no comments from the audience, nor was it ever made the subject of a jest.

I do not think that any set and definite teaching on sexual matters is given to these children. It certainly is not part of the ritual attaching to the seclusion prior to puberty rites either of boys or girls. This was clearly stated by all with whom I discussed the subject, and it is obvious that long before the children reach the age to undergo these ceremonies they have already acquired a very considerable amount of knowledge, indeed it would be difficult for them to remain in ignorance, since sex forms such a commonplace of everyday life that the most intimate details can be learned in the natural course of things by listening to conversations, observing people's behaviour, watching animals, &c. There is no lack of directness in answering any questions a child may happen to put on the subject, and no suggestion that such matters should not be thought of or talked about. They recognize that sexual practices are decided about with those that should not be, but often are, hidden, but no reserve is shown every other activity with which they are familiar—such, for example, as eating or conversing, and so on as my observations enable me to judge, all these aspects of life are taken for granted in much the same way.

MEDICINE AND MAGIC PERTAINING TO CHILDREN

Small children will frequently be seen wearing round their necks, waists, or arms, strings of leaves, usually of some plant having aromatic properties. Certain plants are known as *midno pi* do's, flowers for children. These are liked partly because they smell nice, but most of them are also thought to assist the child's growth. The bones of a freshwater fish (*kahan*) caught by hand by men in streams in the bush are hung round the child's neck for the same reason, and hanging from a bit of fibre round its waist will often be seen a hollow tube which appears to be the dried nest of some bush insect. It is called *titi u ri* and was described to me as 'the house of a little snake'.

There are a number of prescriptions in my collection intended to be used for children who do not thrive. Most of them consist of the leaves or stems of various plants rubbed or pulped and mixed with water, which is then given to the child to drink. Rather more

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184 elaborate than most of them is the following, especially intended
852 to strengthen a child whose mother has died when it is very small:

854 Take the stem of the creeper *asam* near the root (*asam* is *Lygodium*
856 *dichotomum*, the root of which is used as a contraceptive; the essential
quality in both uses is apparently the toughness and hardness of the
plant). Take the leaves of the following plants: *warata*, *kabbak* (*Eleusine*
indica), *takop*, *tom-tom* (these are both varieties of *cordyline*), *waras*
(a grass, *Digitaria pruriens*), and a small plant with a blue flower of
which my informant did not know the name.

Found these leaves and the stem of *asam* all together into a pulp,
by means of a stone. Mix with this pulp a little *owan* (red powder used
for many magical purposes, consisting of impure iron oxide). Wrap up
the mixture in a dried banana leaf. Pour a little water inside the bundle,
leave it for a little while so that the water will take up the 'smell' of the
leaves. Then squeeze the water out into a coco-nut shell and give it to
the child to drink.

Then untie the bundle, take out the leaves, and rub the child's
body with them, pulling out all its extremities, legs, toes, arms, fingers,
each separately. Then put the leaves back into a bundle, tie it up very
strongly with the outside stem of the stem of *asam* (the strongest fastening
these people have, used also to tie together the planks of a canoe), and
put the bundle carefully away in a safe place in the hut. There it must
remain till the child is grown up. If a girl is it, another bundle must
be prepared in the same way.

Medicines to make the child grow strong and big are chosen
according to the size of the child. Most of the plants thus used
have not been identified.

784 All of the foregoing may be used for any child, be it *tsunaun* or
852 commoner. The infancy of a child who is *tsunaun* is further safe-
565 guarded by a series of ceremonies which are either omitted, or
852 performed with far less elaborate detail for a commoner. The fear
856 of 'poison' and harmful magic is never absent from the thoughts of
the near relatives of a child of rank, and every step of its way is
surrounded by infinite precautions.

CEREMONIES CONNECTED WITH THE INFANCY OF A CHILD

TSUNAUN

852 As the children who were born during my residence were all
565 commoners, my knowledge of most of these ceremonies is
limited to what I could learn from various informants. Some
of the later ones I was fortunately able to witness. They are

882 elsewhere, and that opportunities for eating the forbidden nuts with
262 little danger of discovery are legion, I suspect that this rule is more
177 honoured in theory than in practice, in spite of the urgent necessity
of having a good growth of hair to show at the *watanuts*. But
considerable stress was laid upon it in all our talks upon the subject,
and its theoretical importance is also clear from the fact that fathers,
and, less frequently, mothers of boys wearing the hat will volun-
tarily refrain from eating canarium almonds in sympathy with
their sons. Sobak and his wife Tsanaketa were doing so while I
was in residence at Kurtatchi.

882 In the olden days the *upi* boys might never be seen in the act
264 of eating, but had to take their food into the *tubar* and consume it
177 in private. They were not allowed to handle knives, so it was the
duty of their *amro* to cut up their food for them. This custom is
no longer observed.

882 They may chew the betel-mixture, but must use with it only the
276 leaves of the betel-pepper, not the fruit, which is preferred under
ordinary circumstances.

III. Regulations concerning personal appearance.

882 The hair of the boys is never cut or trimmed from the time they
go into the bush before the *upai* ceremony until it is ceremonially
cut short at the *watanuts*. It is pushed up underneath the *upi*,
except for a few straggling ends on neck and forehead.

882 The fathers of boys wearing the *upi* sometimes lay themselves
under a similar prohibition as regards cutting their hair, which
they tie up into a knot on the top of the head. This method of hair-
dressing is seen in Plate 32. Mothers do not cut their hair over the
temples, and do not put paint on it. This custom is not obligatory
upon either sex, and is followed only by a few.

826 There are certain 'medicines' for making the hair grow long, of
824 which the following is a typical example:

• 789 Take the long (tap) root of the plant *niyoman* (unidentified). Chew
the end of it with the betel-mixture, spit out the resulting mash into
your hand and put it inside the hat, pushing it well up to the top. It will
pull up the hair and make it grow longer. The longer the root you chew,
the longer your hair will be.

882 The boys may not wear red paint on their hair, or white paint
302 on their temples, except as prescribed for the various ceremonies,
when it is put on by their *amro*. In one case the *amro* of a boy

244 To prevent pigs from spoiling taro:

789 *Karamuts* (plant unidentified).

Break some pieces of stick from this shrub into lengths of about two inches. Chew its root with the betel-mixture and spit on these bits of stick. Bury the sticks on the road to the taro garden. The pigs will not go into that garden. (Note that this prescription is not regarded as an alternative to good fencing!)

[439] There are also special stones which may be planted in the garden to make the taro grow strong. They are smeared with oil and planted without further ceremonial. Those that I have seen are pebbles of volcanic origin, found, so their owners told me, in the beds of rivers that run to the coast from the interior. There are no rivers near Kurtatchi; the stones are obtained by barter from the mountain people and are greatly valued.

244 When a large new taro garden is being made for some special purpose, a ceremony is held. I saw this done on two occasions; 796 once at a taro garden belonging to Kurtatchi, the second time at one belonging to the neighbouring village of Tabut. Both these gardens were being prepared for use at the big feast accompanying the watawutch ceremony. Since the methods of preparation and planting are generally applicable, and the ritual typical, I give an account of the procedure at the Kurtatchi garden in some detail.

Ceremony for Planting New Taro Garden

(June 9 and 10, 1930)

[423] The ground had been cleared of everything except the orderly piles of rubbish, the trunks of the larger trees, and the roots of the bush bananas, with their stems standing a foot or so from the ground. On the day before the ceremony the whole cleared space was laid out in plots, roughly square, marked off by long thin logs, each plot being the personal property of one individual. A passageway about 6 feet wide ran down the middle of the whole ground, the shape of which was roughly rectangular. Part of two men's plots had not yet been cleared, but was still covered with leaves and brush-wood. The men responsible were held up to ridicule as lazy, but the censure was neither meant nor taken very seriously.

All the small bits of stick, leaves, &c., which remained on the plots having been carefully removed, little fires were lighted on each plot, burning dry coco-nut shells. The leaves of a plant (*nets*)

247 Most people say that this is done to protect the fruit from being eaten by parrots, but one man contradicted this statement when it was made in his presence, saying that the real reason was to make the skin of the fruit become yellow. The bananas are not gathered separately, but the whole tree is cut down and the 'rope' of fruit carried off to the house and hung up to be eaten at leisure.

I have no information regarding any magical procedure used to ensure the welfare of the banana crop, and, so far as I know, the cultivation is done without ceremonial.

Vegetables, other than taro

244 Yams are not cultivated to any great extent by the people of this district. There were none in any of the gardens belonging to the village of Kurtatchi. Some were obtained occasionally by barter. The people of Petats grew them, but they were not in season during the three months of my residence on that island, and I am not able to give any details as to the method of their cultivation.

The Petats people plant a variety of sweet potato, called *durun* in their dialect, which is tended in the same way as taro. A large stone, apparently an implement, was brought to me which its owner said he used to set up in the gardens to make the *durun* grow large. A hole is dug, and the stone is set upright in it. The owner was willing to let me have it because, having come under missionary influence, he did not intend to use it any more. The belief is that if this stone were not set up the *durun* would be small and unpalatable.

Rain-making

• 789 Since it is in connexion with their agriculture that the people are most dependent on the weather, and particularly on rain, this is perhaps the most appropriate place to give an account of the means which they adopt for regulating rainfall.

791 In every village there is at least one man, and often more than one, who is in the possession of the carefully guarded secret of the 565 procedure for making rain. Though they are often *tsunaun*, the 562 knowledge may be possessed also by commoners, but it is restricted to men. With this goes also the regulation of wind. One very wet day was ascribed to the fact that a famous rain-maker had just died at Saposa; as his 'skin' died the rain came down.

791 In the village of Kurtatchi the man most renowned as a rain-

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maker was Riamē, the brother of Matēv. One day he wished very much to accompany a party of us who were going to attend a wapi ceremony in a distant village. But Pinari said he must stay at home and make rain, because the taro was dying. So he did. It duly rained. He was teaching the procedure to his sister's son, Kakari, who would eventually take his place. Another man at Kurtatchi who had some reputation as a rain-maker was my next-door neighbour, Sobak. Both these men allowed themselves to be persuaded to let me into the secret, on my promising not to tell any of the other villagers. As the methods differ in certain important respects, and possess points of interest, the information obtained from both men is here given.

Rain-making as performed by Riamē.

Take five cleaned-out coco-nut shells. Pour some sea-water into them. Scrape the skin of the roots of two kinds of *sisiy* (croton, *Codiaeum variegatum*), and the root of *karawinoa* (*Acanthaceae*); take also some of the leaves of *karawinoa*, and the leaves and root of *takuruts* (another croton). Add all these things to the salt water in the coco-nut shells. Then get some of the watery sap of the *wirtsun* (a species of wild banana, which has a thick stem from which liquid squirts when it is cut). Take also some fresh water. Shake it up with the water from the *wirtsun*, and fill up the coco-nut shells with the mixture. The coco-nut shells then contain salt water, fresh water, the sap of the wild banana, and scrapings from the roots and leaves of plants. The coco-nut shells must have lines of *oin* painted on them cross-wise. When you fill them, put two leaves of *ta'un* (*Cordyline terminalis*) one on each side of the hole, and pour the liquid between them.

These coco-nut shells Riamē kept covered with leaves, at the roots of a big banyan a little distance from the village. Some distance from them, on the other side of the village, he had a box containing about a dozen stones, varying from about 3 inches to about a foot in length, roughly elliptical in section, and smooth-surfaced, as if water-worn, but not, I think, worked by hand. Outside the box were three very large ones, the largest perhaps 2 feet high, standing up on end, leaning against the box (Pl. 41a). He said he had found the three large ones himself on the beach of one of the islands in the bay. The others belonged to his grandfathers, and the grandfathers of other men of his generation,

● 789 Bunabuoie, Bunasom, Bunasobak, all famous rain-makers in their day. Beside the box containing these stones stood a kerosene tin full of the mixture of salt water, fresh water, and sap with which he filled the coco-nut shells, and another tin containing rain-water.

789 When he wants to make rain, he washes each of these stones
824 with rain-water, in which he has put the leaves of two plants, *tataboan* and *malias* (unidentified). He stirred up the tin to show me the leaves at the bottom, and poured a little of the water out and back again. As he did so there was a peal of thunder, which he attributed to his having touched the water. It was, oddly enough, the only peal that day. Having washed the stones, he rubs them with the mixture of wet leaves. Then he fills up the five coco-nuts, and puts them in a tree, resting them in one of the *topa* (elk-horn ferns, which abound on the trunks of trees in this region; their leaves are spread out into a kind of cup in which the coco-nuts could be lodged safely). If you want wind as well as rain, you choose a *topa* which is near the top of the tree, if you want rain only, you choose one which grows low down. After five days, come and take out the leaf stoppers of the coco-nuts. To stop the rain, take down the coco-nuts, pour out all the water, put back the leaf stoppers, and cover up the stones and other apparatus.

789 Riamē said he could not give me one of the stones, because they
431 belonged to the past, but he offered me one of the five coco-nut shells with the mixture it contained. The gift was entirely spontaneous on his part; he said I could make rain with it in my own country.

789 The place where the stones are kept is not hidden, but the other
778 people are afraid to go near it. Before I knew what the queer-looking group of objects signified, I once, when walking near the spot with some little boys, went towards it to see what it was. The
[753] boys, very scared, called to me to come away, or I would get boils on my skin! So I did not pursue my investigations further at that time. When I was taken there by the appropriate person, he was most careful that no one should see us set out, and looked back several times to make sure we were not followed.

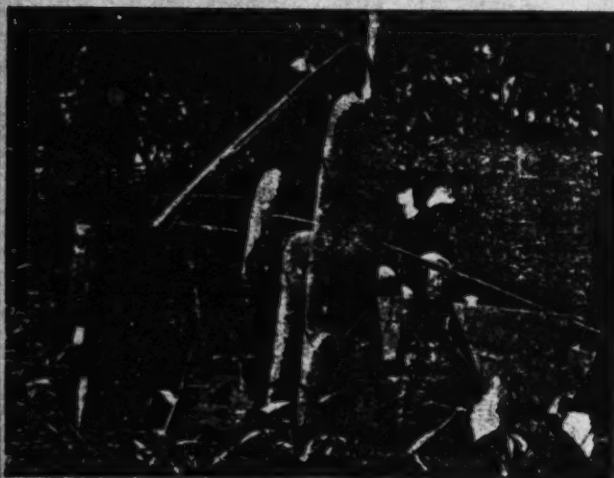
789 This form of procedure has not yet been taught to Kakari, but there is another method, not involving the secret of the stones, of which he is in possession. Riamē learned it from the Amun people, living some little distance away. Kakari has not yet become a very successful rain-maker. He told me one day that he thought some

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6

Kurtatchi

PLATE 41



789 •

a. RAIN-MAKING APPARATUS



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b. A SUCCESSFUL 'POSSUM HUNTER

[Facing p. 314]

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- 789 one who had a grudge against him was fastening the rain so that all his attempts should fail.

[824] The first part of this second method is the same as that previously described, involving the mixing of fresh water, sea-water, and the sap of the *wirtsun* stem. To this is added a substance called *aguiv*, which was described as something that is found in pools in the bush; I could not ascertain whether it was a weed or merely the scum that appears on stagnant water. This mixture is then poured into a large piece of bamboo or other convenient receptacle and shaken about. As it is shaken the rain will come down and the wind will rise. Then the bamboo with the water in it is hidden among the roots of a banyan tree, and the rain-maker goes back to the village.

789 After three days he takes some leaves of the plant called *massi* (824 (*Ocimum basilicum*), and a branch of the *tui* tree (a *calophyllum*). He scrapes some of the bark and mixes it with the *massi* leaves. Some lime is sprinkled over both, and the rain-maker must then go to the sea, and, standing in the water, wash himself with this mixture. Then he comes back to the place where he left the bamboo with the water-mixture in it, takes out the leaf stopper used to cover the opening, and shakes the contents about. Immediately a strong wind will rise.

When he wishes the wind and rain to cease, he takes up the bamboo from the roots of the banyan tree and pours its contents away on the ground. He brings the bamboo back with him to the village, takes it into his hut, and covers it up with leaves. He chews the stalk of the *massi* plant and the fruit of it, with the betel-mixture. The mixture in his mouth he must spit out in the direction from which the wind and the rain are coming, and they will then cease.

Rain-making as performed by Sobak.

- 789 The following procedure I learned by asking Sobak to make rain for me on one occasion when my water supply was getting low. In point of fact rain did actually fall on the appointed day—being long overdue. He plumed himself greatly on this success. But it went on raining till the whole place was flooded, and when I asked him to make it stop, he said he couldn't, because a much more powerful rain-maker than he was making more rain in another place! Sobak's method is as follows: When a man wishes to make rain,

789 he first walks slowly through the bush and collects all sorts of different plants and puts them into a coco-nut shell with water. He goes on and goes on and goes on, and collects more plants and puts them in another coco-nut shell full of water. These he hides somewhere in the bush where they will not be found by any one. He climbs up a lot of trees to look for opossum. He must kill plenty of opossum. He goes back home in the dark. No one must see him as he goes; if any one does the rain will not come but the sun will go on shining. The same evening he gets some leaves of the tree called *manasas* (a hard-timbered tree) and wraps up the opossum in them. He puts the packets down under a stone on the beach, and goes back home.

Next day he goes back, and takes out the packet of opossum from under the stone. He eats some of the opossum. Then he goes back to the bush and makes a fire. He puts some taro and a piece of opossum on the fire, and calls on all the *war* appropriate for the making of rain, that is, the spirits of people who, when they were alive, were successful rain-makers. They are all men, since it is forbidden to a woman to know the procedure for rain-making. A dozen names of suitable *war* were mentioned. They belonged to both clans. Some of them were 'grandfathers' (*tsubu-*, applied to a grandparent on either side and to any ancestor further back) of Sobak. The rain-maker may call upon as many as he wishes, in this manner: '*Bunasiken, en di ma pit ni wamüts ia* (Bunasiken, you bring rain and make it come down). *Toras, en di ma pit ni wamüts ia*. *Buntaderian, en di ma pit ni wamüts ia*', and so on, till he thinks he has called on enough *war* to produce the desired effect. Buntaderian was said to be the most important *war* for rain-making.

789 Then the rain-maker gives the time when he wants the rain to fall, perhaps to-morrow, perhaps in three days, and so on. When 824 the time comes, he goes again into the bush, pulls a leaf of the bush banana, and fills it with bits of the leaves of a large number of plants and trees, among them canarium almond, coral tree (*Erythrina*), coco-nut palm, and *tšiniv* (the tree whose wood is used for making dug-out canoes). He gathers a quantity of aromatic plants and puts them in his hair and behind his ears, in his armlet and in his belt. He chews some of the mixture in the banana-leaf with the betel-mixture, spits the mixture on to the palm of his hand, and presses it on the skin of his arm. Then he will hear

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the *war* Kilok speaking up above (thunder), and the rain will fall.

When he wishes the rain to cease, he goes to the place where he hid the coco-nuts and empties out the water, then the rain will stop.

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As is usual, Sobak, as a rain-maker, also knows the procedure for controlling the wind. The essential part of this is the same as that given me by Riamē and Kakari, i.e. the chewing of certain leaves with the betel-mixture and spitting it in the direction from which you wish the wind to come. But you must be careful not to spit too far or you will produce a wind so strong that it will blow down the houses and destroy all the canoes that are at sea. This is sometimes done on purpose, in order to injure some man against whom the rain-maker has a grudge.

The most important part of the rain-making procedure appears to be the filling of some receptacle with water, and pouring it out again. This occurs in all three of the methods here described. Furthermore, it happened that once, when I wanted to cross the bay at a time when a high wind was blowing, and Pinari told me to ask Riamē to fasten the wind for us, Riamē said he did not think he could, because he had given two of the coco-nuts away, one to me, and the other to a friend of his at Pororan, and had not yet prepared others to take their places.

It is quite certain that the rain-makers really believe in their powers, as do all the other natives. Since the rain-making ritual would not be carried out unless there had been some considerable period of fine weather, it is probable that rain follows more often than not, in view of the heavy rainfall of the country. This would, naturally, be looked upon as the result of their endeavours. On the other hand, as I experienced more than once, failures can easily be explained away by putting the blame on the more powerful magic of a rival.

HUNTING

Pig-hunting

The young men spend a great deal of time strolling in the bush with their dogs and spears, ostensibly for the purpose of catching bush pigs. The spear in use for this purpose is now usually a thin iron rod, but it may be still, as it used to be, of hard wood. No attempt is ever made to decorate these working spears, nor are they

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fact that it has been castrated and that its ears and tail have been cut. It is always set at liberty. On one occasion a pig was caught which had not had its ears cut, although it had undergone castration. It was claimed by one of the men as his, a claim which no one questioned. A mark was cut in its ears and a piece of its tail was snipped off; it was then let loose again. 231

Pigs caught in such a drive are the joint property of all the men who took part in the hunt. After being cut up and cooked the meat is divided between them. On one occasion I wanted some pig-meat for my servant, and being uncertain who was entitled to be paid for it, was directed to offer the appropriate stick of tobacco to the *tsunaun*, which appeared to be satisfactory to every one concerned. 224 [565]

A pig killed in the bush is cooked and eaten the same day at the evening meal. But when wanted for a ceremony, the pigs are, if possible, brought back to the village alive, to be killed just before they are required. An enclosure of logs is put up on the outskirts of the village in which to keep such pigs, and they are fed on coco-nut meat and odd scraps by the women night and morning, like the domestic pigs. But they do not live long in this confinement. 264 796 [417]

On one occasion the Petats people were anxious to secure a number of pigs, but had hunted for two days in succession with very poor results. Three pigs had been caught, but one had died, and one had been set free as somebody's property, leaving only one rather small animal to show for their two days' arduous labour. So they decided to make 'net medicine' (*tahaun*). The nets were piled up beside the road which runs down the length of the island. A group of men gathered round one of the older men, who was squatting near the side of the road chewing the betel-mixture. None of the others was chewing at this time. After a while he took a stalk of cordyline, and tied all the leaves together in a bunch with a piece of grass. Some powdered lime lay beside him in a pandanus leaf. He took a pinch of this and put it among the cordyline leaves. Presently he spat the red saliva out of his mouth on to the leaves in four places, and laid the cordyline stalk upright against a tree. Then there was an interval of several minutes, during which everybody present smoked and talked. Then, without warning, the principal performer snatched up the bunch of cordyline, and turning very suddenly, whipped the pile of nets with it. He struck 224 789 ●

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224 the pile six times, and then struck once at random into the bush,
 789 after which he threw the stalk of cordyline away among the under-
 brush. The young men pounced on the nets shouting, and went
 off with them quickly. The man who had performed the ceremony
 went after them, and directed them where to put the nets. They
 were obviously hopeful and expectant, and, sure enough, the first
 time the nets were set up they were successful. But they caught
 no others that day, although they made several drives subse-
 quently.

224 Dogs are an indispensable adjunct to pig-hunting, and are kept
 231 mainly for that purpose. A good hunting dog is very highly valued.
 789 There is an elaborate ceremony for making dogs good hunters,
 which was a speciality of Pinari, who sometimes paid visits to other
 villages for the purpose of performing it for the dogs of his friends.
 He learned it from a clansman at Baniu, now dead. The secret was
 imparted to him because pigs had been destroying the village
 taro-gardens, and their own dogs had proved ineffective. Pinari
 gave the details to his eldest son, Wasē, from whom I learned
 them, with Pinari's consent, the account being read to him and the
 details checked. As there are several points of interest in it, I give
 it in full, although it is somewhat lengthy. The ceremony is called
wasip.

Magic for making dogs hunt well.

231 If you want to make this magic, you must first scrape some of
 789 the bark of the tree *managewan*.¹ While you are scraping it you
 824 must imitate the barking of a dog. Then scrape some of the bark
 of *nes*, and bark again like a dog. Then scrape the bark of *katfan*
 (*Caryota* sp.?), and bark again like a dog. Then cut a twig of *bo*
 (*Leea* sp.) and part of the stem of *owor*, and the bark of *gunaspu*.
 Bring these to the village, and there scrape some of the bark of
owor. Put all these leaves and scrapings into a *kōbū*, and put the
kōbū into the boys' house. Then get areca-nut, the fruit of the
 betel-pepper (the leaves will not do), and lime. The lime must be
 freshly made and freshly powdered or it is no good. Chew the
 betel-mixture, and spit on the leaves and scrapings in the *kōbū*.
 This work is given to the smaller boys, the grown men do not chew
 at this time. Go on chewing till the *kōbū* is full.

¹ Where the botanical names of the plants used are not given, they have not been identified.

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In the early morning, as soon as you get up, catch one of the dogs, force his mouth open, and fix it open with a stick of *b5*. Take some of the mixture in the *kōbū* and smear the dog with it. Then take the dog to the beach, mix some sea-water with the contents of the *kōbū*, and make the dog drink some of it. Then put bits of the stalk of *karamusis* up the dog's nostrils and blow upon them. This makes the nostrils bleed freely, which clears the blood out of the dog's nose so that he can smell the pigs better. [231] 789 • [824]

When you have done this to all the dogs, go back to the village, into the men's house, taking the first dog with you, and make the dog eat some of the chewed betel-mixture, without any sea-water mixed with it. Then hold the dog by the tail and swing him round several times, inside the men's house. Treat all the dogs in this way.

This is all that is done on the first day.

Another day, scrape *katfan* and *managewan*, and scrape some *arog* (coco-nuts, the meat of which is hard and firm and the milk considered unsuitable for drinking). Take a piece of broken pot, put in the scraped coco-nuts and the bark of the two plants, and cook the mixture over the fire without adding any water to it. When it is ready, call for the dog who was treated first the day before, put some of the mixture into half a coco-nut shell, and make him eat it. Then do the same with the second dog, and so on till they have all eaten, in the same order as they were treated the first day. [824]

This is the end of the work for the second day.

Next day, get up early and go and hunt pig. If the dogs kill one, tie it up, call out for men to come and carry it in, take it to the village and cook it in a pot (this is somewhat unusual, pigs are generally roasted). At the same time the women must cook plenty of taro. When the pig is ready, get some leaves of *gunasgu* and throw them into the pot. If this were not done, and if it happened that one of the men who shared the contents of the pot were newly married, and had recently slept with his wife for the first time, or if any of them had a wife who was pregnant, the magic would not work, and the dogs would not be able to kill pigs. But if these leaves are put into the pot, a man in such a case can eat of it without any ill effects. Then all the men of the village eat the pig. [824] [834] [843]

The next day, go out hunting with the dogs again, and kill another pig. Bring it home and cook it in the village, in a pot as before. This pig belongs to the women, who all eat of it. No

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leaves are put into the pot this time, but if a pregnant woman or one who is newly married eats of it, no harm is done.

The next day go hunting again, and kill another pig. Bring it back to the village and cut it up and send a piece of it to every house. Then each house cooks its share in an oven, with hot stones (the usual native oven). Everybody eats a piece of this pig.

If on any of these days the dogs fail to kill a pig, nothing more can be done on that day, but you must go out again the next day, and keep on hunting until they kill one.

[824]

The eating of the third pig by all the people of the village concludes the ceremony. But if after this the dogs are still not successful in hunting, stronger magic is tried. The bark of *managewan* and *katsan* are scraped again, and dry coco-nut meat cooked with it, and the dogs given the mixture to eat. But before they eat it, the fire is scattered, and the names of three *war* are called aloud. These three are Pila, Wadi, and Tengnatchu, the names of men who in their lifetimes were good hunters. Then the dogs are made to eat the mixture. This is very strong magic, and after it has been done, when the hunter goes out, the dogs will go straight for a pig and kill him.

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There is another kind of procedure, known to other men of the village. It is much less elaborate, but none the less typical. It is called *masaro*, and is performed as follows: Take the leaves of *puroa* and mix them with water. This mixture may be prepared beforehand. When the ceremony is to be performed, a fire must be made, and the *kōbū* containing the mixture is passed round the fire (but none is spilled into it), while the names of certain *war* who were once good hunters are called out: Garameaboa, Soawunum, Tawasing. Then the dogs must be made to drink the mixture. Another mixture is made with the leaves of the plant *tsu*, and given to the dogs in the same way. This is very strong and will make the dogs fierce. All the dogs must take some of both these mixtures. Then a stick of *karamusis* is thrust up each dog's nostrils; this will make him smell the pig.

It will be noted that *karamusis* is used for this purpose in both ceremonies, but that otherwise the plants required are different, as are also the names of the *war*. Each person who specializes in this ceremony uses the names of dead relatives who have been good hunters, but without distinction of clan, since the son uses the same names as his father.

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There are a number of variants of this procedure, current in different villages, but all having for their aim 'to make the dogs cross'. At the village of Tung I saw the lower jaw of a large marine creature with sharp teeth hanging on the wall of the men's house. I was told it was intended to be crushed up and mixed with the dog's food, so that they would 'get very cross and hunt well'. Another method involves putting special food for the dogs in an ants' nest, so that when the dog tries to eat it the ants bite him, 'then he gets very cross and is ready to chase pigs'. The word I have translated 'cross' is used of people in a bad temper, but I suppose in this case it means 'fierce'. 231
789 ●

There is also a 'medicine' intended to act in the opposite way, i.e. to spoil a dog for hunting:

If you want a dog and the owner won't give it to you, get some of the dog's excrement, put it in a coco-nut shell and bury it. Over the place where it is buried plant some of the plant called *toanis* (this word is used of several different plants, most of which seem to be varieties of *Eleusine*). When this grows tall the dog will not be good at hunting any more. [824]

Opossum hunting

[The Cuscus opossum, or phalanger (Pl. 41b).]

Opossum are hunted chiefly by boys and the younger men. 224

The method is to peer about in the foliage till one is seen curled up on a branch, or to track the animal to its hole, and then to climb the tree and pull it out (Fig. 10). If it has gone in so far that it cannot be reached, the tree will often be felled. Quite large trees are sometimes felled for the sake of one opossum, but as most of them are soft-timbered varieties, this task is not as arduous as it might appear. The boys like to go hunting for opossum at night, using torches made of coco-nut palm leaves with their fronds folded into a bunch and tied together. I used to be invited to accompany the party, with the proviso that I should bring my 'shoot-lamp' (pidgin-English for 'electric torch'). The light not only serves to locate the opossum, but also to dazzle it, when it is likely to fall down and be seized by the dogs. The hunters try to drive the animals by shouts and by making a noise with a leaf adjusted between finger and thumb, which is then smacked sharply with the other hand. [198]

There are various 'medicines' which are used to aid the hunter, 224

484 The people of Hanahan go to Green Island to get *beroan* (shell cur-
 439 rency) and fish, because the fishing at Hanahan is not good. They also
 197 buy pigs, because the pigs of Green Island are bigger than the pigs at
 Hanahan. The people of Green Island are the same people as those of
 Hanahan, and talk the same language, but the people of Green Island
 talk very slowly, it sounds as if they were sad and wanted to cry. (Here
 the speaker gave an imitation, in a high-pitched voice with a whining
 tone and a drop at the end of every sentence.) They pay for the *beroan*
 and the pigs and the fish with taro, pots, and paint, which they get
 from Tiop.

484 They stop two days, and fish; there are plenty of fish at Green Island.
 1789 When the men are ready to come back, a man of Green Island takes hold
 of the canoe and says some words to make the canoe run quickly and
 come back to Hanahan. The people of Green Island know these words,
 the Hanahan people do not know them. They leave at dusk, and come
 back to Hanahan in the early morning. They do not take so long as they
 did to go to Green Island, because the sea pushes the canoe.

502 Here the narrator ceased, but further inquiry elicited the infor-
 mation that they steer by the same stars, watching till they are
 high enough in the sky to be seen in front of the canoe. When they
 get near home they look for the point called Hanapan (the most
 northerly headland on Buka) and for the highest mountain on
 Buka, which they call Langono (I am not sure just where this is).
 When they get closer to the shore they must steer away from the
 island or else they would be carried round the northern edge of
 the island on to the Lontis coast. They beach the canoe at sunrise.

House-building

361 From the plan and description of the village given in Chapter I,
 it will be seen that the huts (*inu*) are always set up in lines. When
 a new one is to be added to the line, the position of the front is
 determined by stretching a piece of creeper or fibre string along
 the line of the houses already in position, and continuing it farther
 to the site of the new one. The backs of the huts are not alined, as
 some are much longer than others, owing to the fact that increase
 in size is always obtained by adding to the length at the back, the
 width remaining practically constant in all.

342 The first procedure in house-building is to put in pieces of stick
 to mark the corners, using the string as above described. Along the
 sides, uprights (*kurik*) are set up in double rows, just wide enough
 apart for the insertion between them of the slats which they are

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USEFUL ARTS

317 is described as being of a reddish colour and resembling sand. It
323 comes from a big hole in the side of a mountain some little distance
from the village. The women told me that if too little *mēmia* is
mixed with the *petako* the pot is not strong, if too much, it is brittle.
They could not explain the right proportions, but judge by the feel
of the mixture as they knead it in their hands. The two ingredients
are not kept separate till required, but large quantities of the
mixture are prepared and kept in baskets of woven coco-nut leaves.

323 When a woman goes to get the *petako* for the first time, she must
317 not go close to the place, or the *petako* will be spoiled. She stands
789 some distance off, and the other women go first, and sprinkle the
ground with pigs' fat. Then they bring back a handful of *petako*
and give it to the newcomer, who may then approach and take her
share. As far as I could learn, there is no ceremony connected with
the getting of the *mēmia*.

Technique.

323 The potter works at her craft in the early morning and in the
late afternoon. The sound of the tapping is heard almost at dawn.
When she is not working, the half-finished pots rest on a low plat-
form of thin logs placed slightly apart, between which the pots are
set, the logs providing sufficient support to keep them upright.
The platform runs down one side of the hut, and the small girls of
the family are kept busy fetching and carrying pots for the worker
who sits at the far end. There may be a couple of dozen on the
platform at one time, with very little space between them. Setting
them up is a ticklish business, but woe betide the child who lets
one fall over, injuring its delicate edge. I watched one unlucky
little girl to whom this happened trying, with more optimism than
judgement, to repair the damage with her own unskilful fingers.
The result was disastrous. All the operations, except the firing,
are carried on indoors. If the work is done outside, the sun spoils
the clay. As a very special favour, one potter brought her work
outside so that I could take photographs.

323 The potter sits on the ground, but some women prefer a low
516 stool, made by fixing a plank upon a couple of small logs. Her legs
are stretched out in front of her, with the knees slightly bent, the
pot resting on them.

323 In beginning a new pot, a lump of the mixture is taken in the
hand, and worked into a ball about the size of a tennis ball. The

301 wings are torn off and fixed one on each side of the head (Pl. 66b).
[824] Dabs of a phosphorescent fungus are put on the face for special occasions, and may also decorate the ends of *mabu* or *piu*.

[789] Necklaces of aromatic plants are often worn. These may have more than an ornamental value, since many of them are regarded as 'medicine' useful in love magic or to ward off the *urar*. More permanent necklaces are made of opossum teeth, threaded on fibre through small holes made in one end of the tooth. I have seen these [412] holes being pierced with a primitive rotary drill, but was told that [177] this had been learned from elsewhere by people working as plantation labourers, and that no means of piercing the teeth were known before they became acquainted with this drill. At the present time many possess necklaces of trade beads, either with or without opossum-teeth interpolated. Only very small coloured beads are liked. Some necklaces of larger beads which I brought with me as presents, because they had been very successful among the American Indians, were of little use because they were considered too heavy. Strings of small beads are also worn round the wrist, and put round the waists of infants. I do not remember seeing any native form of finger-ring.

Arm-bands (*pog*) made of plaited fibre in patterns of red, black, and yellow are almost universally worn. They are not made locally, but are obtained from the hill people (see Pl. 67, no. 5). Less elaborate arm-bands are made by plaiting grass (no. 4) or strips of sago-palm leaves (*pog a iw*) (no. 3); the old men spend their [887] leisure time making these. They are of different widths up to over an inch. Arm-bands serve as receptacles for any small articles they may wish to carry about with them, such as a pipe or a stick of tobacco. Here and there, especially at ceremonies, one may see a native wearing bands of trochus shell such as are common in other parts of Melanesia, but they are exceptional and are not made in this area (Pl. 67, no. 8).

The most highly prized ornament is the *pirir*, a disk of clam-shell with a fine piece of tortoise-shell filigree work superposed upon it (Pl. 68). These are worn as pendants, on ceremonial occasions only. In the olden days they were also worn by warriors setting out to a fight. A few are still made, a knife being used instead of the piece of sharp-edged shell formerly employed for the carving; but the present workmanship is careless and the patterns comparatively uninteresting. To save the trouble of rubbing down the hard hinge

ARTISTIC ARTS

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301 of the clam-shell for the disk, the present-day native prefers to use the middle of a china saucer ground smooth at the edges. These ornaments seem to have come under the special displeasure of the missionaries, probably owing to their connexion with ceremonies and fighting, and it is almost certain that their manufacture will shortly cease altogether. Several specimens in my collection were obtained because the owners had discarded them as belonging to the olden times.

432 Strings of ceremonial currency made of shell disks (broom, Pl. 67, 2a, 2b) are worn as ornaments at dances, being wound round the neck or waist or hung over the shoulder. Anything worn across the shoulders is referred to as *azwero*, if put round the waist the word is *uchi*.

431 Girdles of aromatic leaves are much liked, and may have a magical value as well as being ornamental. As a result of contact with white men, belts are coming into great favour, though they are quite unnecessary for keeping the loin-cloth in position. Some of the young men have trade belts, those who have none use strips of dried banana fibre. Occasionally a belt will be seen of coloured plaited grass in a pattern similar to those on the arm-bands; these are made, like the arm-bands, by the mountain natives; they are obtained by barter and are much prized. They are also sometimes made of thin strips of cane closely bound with native string. The outside is plastered with red paint put on very thickly, and looks not unlike leather.

301 184 The women of West Buka and the adjacent islets make belts of twisted fibre, round in section, ornamented with interwoven black bands made of the shiny outer bark of the bush banana. They are finished off with a long bunch of loose threads of fibre, which hangs down behind like a tail when the belts are worn. Their use is confined to dances, and the women take pleasure in moving their bodies so that the tails wave about. Only women and children wear these belts. My friends at Petats made one specially for me, and were much pleased when I subsequently appeared in it to join in their dances. The women of Kurtatchi do not make them, and appeared to be unfamiliar with them; they were greatly interested when I showed them mine, and insisted on my putting it on and showing how the Petats women danced with it. But they made no attempt to copy it.

700 The belts made by women during the period of mourning for a

SOME ECONOMIC MATTERS

the road to meet them, instead of waiting where we were, but this was vetoed by the older women as not being the proper thing to do.

There is no ceremonial attached to these journeys, but there are 'medicines' which may be used to ensure getting good bargains. A typical one from Kurtatchi runs as follows: Before setting out with a load, chew the root of the plant *wakalau* (unidentified) with the betel-mixture and spit on the taro, then the other people will like it and will buy plenty and pay much fish for it.

This exchange is carried on regularly between the following places in the area with which this book is chiefly concerned:

Fish from Petata and other islands off the west coast of Buka exchanged for taro from the hill villages of the centre of the island, especially Gagan, Potaki and Sapani. Meeting place: an agreed spot on the Government road running through the centre of the island. Rates: 1 large fish for 12 taros; 1 medium-sized fish for 8 taros.

Fish from the Saposa islands, off the north-western corner of Bougainville, for taro from the Hahon people of the northern foothills, who come down to the coast at an agreed spot, opposite the Saposa islands. Also from the Kunua people farther inland and to the western side of Bougainville, who come down to the coast at a place called Kavetch, some miles down the western coast. Since this involves a journey of some distance for the Saposa people it is made at longer intervals. Saposa also exchanges its fish for the taro of the Sëlō people and those of Tabut, on the north coast of Bougainville, who have good ground in the north-western peninsula. Meeting-place: the southern shore of the peninsula, on Soraken Bay. Rates: With the mountain people, 10 fish for 10 taros. With the Sëlō people, 2 fish for 6 taros. These rates are said to have been fixed for them by Morena, the 'culture heroine' from whom they trace their origin as explained in Chapter II. That was the only explanation given when I inquired as to the reason for the difference in the exchange between the two places. It is possible that the fear with which the mountain people of Central Bougainville are still regarded by the coastal people may have something to do with the favourable rates accorded to them.

Saposa also figured in an exchange in the reverse direction, giving taro to Kurtatchi in exchange for smoked fish on several occasions when Kurtatchi needed extra taro for some special

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On another occasion the same thing took place at

460 SOME ECONOMIC MATTERBY Kurtatchi:

425 Some of the women went round to each but breaking up water
574 coco-nuts, the owners giving them old ones for the purpose. The
565 reason was that the wife of one of the important men had called
her husband a lazy good-for-nothing who spent all his time at
dances and did no work. When a woman scolds her husband, if
he is *tsunaun*, the other women go round breaking things from
every house in the village, not only the house of the couple involved.

425 Intentional destruction of property also takes place on the occa-
382 sion of the wapi ceremony as described on p. 303.

INHERITANCE

565 A man's official heir is his eldest sister's eldest son. If she has
428 no son the second sister's son takes the position. Failing the sons
of full sisters, a son of his mother's sister—for whom he uses the
same kinship term—would be the heir. I did not meet with this
contingency. It is of importance chiefly in the transmission of the
position of *tsunaun tʃan*, the person of highest rank in the village.
Pinari's eldest sister, Pail, had a son who died in childhood. The
heir was, therefore, Kakari, the son of his younger sister Matev. He
cannot alienate this right however much he may wish to do so.
With it goes the right to direct certain ceremonies, and the official
ownership of land. Wasē, Pinari's eldest son, held in Kurtatchi no
official position, but was accorded a measure of respect by virtue
of the importance of his father. But if he had been living in his
mother's village he would there have been the person next but one
in importance to the *tsunaun tʃan*, who was his mother's mother's
brother, yielding only to the son of an elder sister of his mother.
On the death of his mother's brother he had been sent to his father
at Kurtatchi, and had elected to remain there.

428 Personal property, including ceremonial currency, can be, and
789 often is, left to a man's own children instead of to his sister's
children. The same applies to knowledge of special magic. Pinari,
who had no great liking for his nephew, had passed on his know-
ledge of magic for making dogs hunt well to his son Wasē, and did
not intend to give it to his sister's son Kakari, who would succeed
him as *tsunaun*. He said that Kakari would have half his material
possessions, and his own children would have the other half;
Kakari would divide it.

Other magic may be similarly inherited in several ways, either
from a father—real or classificatory—or from a mother's brother,

1: Blackwood B-5 (1929-1930) 1936

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or from a brother. The magic for fishing with the *sh* which I 428
obtained from Tchub, was given to him by his father Pasis and 789 ●
his elder brother Krapen, both of whom are dead. He was going
to pass it on to Rarum, his mother's mother's sister's daughter's
son, whom he calls *Akar* (brother). Ora, a rain-maker, was taught
by Wawen his *tsa* (mother's brother) just before he died. Ora had
not decided to which of his relatives he would divulge the secret
when he himself came to die. Some further instances of the in-
heritance of magic are given in Chapter XIII.

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754 home whenever the tide is high (i.e. when he ought to be out fishing),
 627 but at low tide he is always hungry and goes round asking for food. After
 [124] a time he will go mad. If you are sorry for him and wish to cure him of
 his madness, squeeze a small plant called *bokomo* into water and give it
 to him to drink, then he will be all right again.

Another method:

[627] Fill up a bamboo with salt water. Chew the root of the plant *gogō* and
 spit it into the bamboo. Lay it across the path to the coco-nut grove,
 where the thief will walk over it. Then watch for him secretly, and
 when you are sure he has walked over the bamboo, take it away and
 burn it. Shortly afterwards the thief will become very ill.

● 718 To revenge yourself on a man who has done you an injury, by
 627 causing the sea to break up his canoe:

[627] Get the leaves of the shrub *hōwān*, both red and green kinds. Pound
 them to a pulp, mix some *sisiwa* with them, and put the mixture inside
 a cleaned-out coco-nut shell. You must fill it quite full. Go to the shore
 and dip the coco-nut shell in the sea, then pull it out, and bury it in the
 sand among the bushes, a little above the place where the water reaches
 at high tide. The next tide will come up to the spot. After two days dig
 up the coco-nut and put it farther back, and do this every two days until
 the tide has come up so far that it breaks the canoe belonging to your
 enemy. The sea follows the coco-nut because the *sisiwa* is strong and
 pulls it. When you want the tide to become normal again, break the
 coco-nut full of mixture and throw it away.

Kakari did this at the request of Murē, because two other men had
 damaged Murē's *mon*. The result was to make the tide come up till it
 smashed up a *mon* belonging to one of these two men. (Note. *Mon*
 (plank canoes) are kept on the shore and are sometimes damaged by
 exceptionally high tides.)

789 Apart from these, it will be noticed that forms of procedure which
 under most circumstances may be directed towards quite legitimate
 ends, may at times take on an anti-social aspect, as when love magic
 is used to entice another man's wife. Sometimes the 'prescriptions'
 in my collection are accompanied by a statement to the effect that
 while they produce certain desirable results from the point of view
 of the person using them, they are harmful to his rivals, e.g. they
 will prevent other canoes from catching fish while your own is
 taking plenty, or will make your taro good and other people's bad.
 This is apparently accepted, at any rate no secret was made of such
 'medicines', and there was no emotional tension displayed in dis-

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cussing them, as was the case with any practices savouring of 'poison'. 789

WAR MAGIC

Fighting is for these people a thing of the past, and I did not make it a subject of special investigation. The following scraps of war magic, which came my way incidentally, are perhaps worth placing on record. 726 789

To make a war canoe go fast. (Petats.)

Catch an *arori* (a special kind of snake) and cut off about three inches of its tail (length shown by gestures). Put this in the bottom of the *mon* and fix it there with putty nut. It must remain there always. You must let the snake go. It soon grows another tail. [825]

This is only for *mon* used in fighting. It makes the canoe outrun all the others and catch up with the enemy. It is not done to *mon* used for bonito fishing. There are no words used in this medicine.

The following account of preparations for an attack, and the capture of a prisoner, was given by Pinari, himself an old warrior, who had, as was obvious from the way in which he told it, himself often taken part in such raids.

"When our people went to fight in the olden days they would first prepare *wiriako*. To do this you take some lime, and the tip of an ear of a *tumocow* belonging to the enemy, whom you killed in another fight, and a bit of his eyelashes, and a bit of his pubic hair. Put these into a leaf with the lime, and make a bundle of it. This is powerful medicine belonging to the *war*. Get leaves of *kiwar* and hang them down the backs of the men who are going to fight. [826] [824]

"When you are ready to go out to fight, the man who understands about the *wiriako* undoes the packet, takes a pinch between his finger and thumb, puts it to his lips, and blows it in the direction of the enemy, calling out:

"*Pah! Ges ma ti si nom ini!*"

Exclama. "Get (*imperative*) man that (he) come here."

He beckons with one hand, holding the packet of *wiriako* with the other hand, and says:

"*Di ma ia! Di ma ti si nom ini!*"

"Fetch him! Fetch man that (he) come here!"

"Then the spirit (*able*) of the man comes and enters the packet of *wiriako*. The man in charge of the packet binds it carefully and

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726 sticks it into his arm-band. Then he speaks to his men: "You wait,
789 presently the enemy we are after will come up; this *wiriako* will
make him come up. You have your knives and axes ready."

"The man they are after wakes up and yawns. His skin feels bad. His ears are fastened, the *war* fasten them up, so that he cannot hear. His eyes are no good, he looks at our men and thinks they are trees. He sneezes, his belly shakes.

"Then the leader of our men takes a spear in his right hand and an axe in his left, and creeps forward with knees bent. He motions to his men to surround the place silently. They creep up, with fierce gestures. The leader jumps up, spears his man in the side, and cuts him over the head with the axe; then he takes him on his shoulders and carries him off, shouting. (All this was illustrated
[537] very dramatically by Pinari, to the delight of the rest of the party.) When the fight is finished, the leader takes a pinch of *wiriako* and puts it on the front of his ear, and on his nostrils, then he eats a little of it, and it makes his stomach strong."

To ensure that a man's aim with bow and arrow shall be straight, he may employ the following procedure:

[824] Take the root of *mwane* (*Leptaspis Banksii*) and chew it with the betel-mixture, rub your bow and arrows with the chewed mash. Spit more of the mash on to the flower of the same plant and wear it in your hair when you go out to fight

DISCUSSION

789 Without entering into the controversy that has raged round the
754 meaning of the word 'magic', I shall venture, in the pages that follow, to use it in its widest possible connotation, so as to bring together under this label all the various means, transcending his own ordinary exertions or those of his colleagues, by which an individual (or a group) within the area under consideration seeks to further purposes or to obtain objectives which seem to him desirable.

Summarizing briefly what has been said in previous chapters, it appears that the main occasions on which a native of the North-Western Solomons feels the necessity of supplementing his normal exertions may be grouped as follows:

1. At certain critical epochs in the life-history of the individual, e.g. birth, certain episodes of childhood, marriage, &c. The explicit purpose of much that is done on these occasions, as stated by the

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

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people themselves, is to counteract the influence of those who may be 'making poison' for the destruction of the individual concerned.

It follows from this that since persons who are *tsunaun* are more subject to such machinations than commoners, the ritual prescribed for them is always more complex than that employed for the ordinary person.

2. When faced with sickness, either through some cause known to him or through what he regards as 'poison', by which he means what we are accustomed to call 'black magic'.
3. To guard against the vengeance of the *war* (spirits of the dead), where he may have given them cause to be angry with him.
4. To ensure success in his love-making.
5. To ensure success in his efforts to provide an adequate food supply, either when a fresh start is being made, as in the case of a new garden or the use of new apparatus for the first time, or else when his unaided efforts are proving unsuccessful.
6. To avenge himself upon his enemies, or to do harm to those against whom he has a grudge.

It must be remembered—the point has been stressed by Malinowski—that the additional assistance sought is not regarded by the seeker as a substitute for his own exertions. The exhortations of the women to each other to plant well and deeply were not less vehement because the *war* had been called upon to provide good taro in place of that which they were planting, nor did the men neglect to fence the garden because ritual precautions had been taken to prevent the pigs from spoiling it. The owner of a new fishing kite must exert himself to the utmost to obtain the ten fish necessary to the ritual belonging to it. The lover does not relax his efforts to find favour in the eyes of the woman he woos by charm and spell. But an exception to this would seem to occur in the case of black magic. The sorcerer does not try to put a spear through his victim; he goes about his lawful occasions while the 'poison' works and the man wastes away to a skeleton and subsequently dies.

I have purposely used the vague term 'various means', because some of the practices included in my analysis may deserve no more important description than 'folk-medicine', while at the other end of the scale comes the ritual involving the *war*, most if all not of which would be admitted by most anthropologists to be religious, or at least magico-religious, which latter convenient term would probably cover most of the practices and observances to be discussed in the present context. But before discussing the principles

- 789 underlying these 'various means', I would like to suggest that to the natives who make use of them, the differences between them are
 755 looked upon as differences in degree and not as differences in kind.
 757 Administering medicine to cure sickness is regarded as an act of precisely the same nature as hanging up the 'medicine' in the rafters of the hut to make the pain stop, and this again is not sharply distinguished from breathing the name of an *urar* over a mixture rubbed on a fish-line to ensure a good catch. The only difference is that procedure involving an appeal to the *urar* is usually undertaken only for reasons of some importance. The same word—*ēto*, which I have translated 'medicine' throughout—is always applied to the substance employed, and here again the difference is one of degree rather than of kind. The leaves to be heated and rubbed on a boil, the complex mixture used in the taro garden in conjunction with an appeal to the *urar*, and substances such as *sisiŋoa* which possess magical power in themselves, and work independently of spell or spirit, are all alike *ēto*, but some are stronger medicine than others.

At the same time, if the principles underlying various forms of remedy and ritual be analysed, they will be found to admit of classification, and it may perhaps be worth while to consider some of them, provided it is clearly understood that the classification is purely theoretical, and that no hard and fast line would be drawn by the natives between the various categories.

- 755 Many medicines for the treatment of sickness are used in much
 757 the same way as we should use our own remedies in like case, they are swallowed by or rubbed upon the patient. Whether the plants in the Melanesian's pharmacopoeia actually possess curative properties could probably be determined by analysis, but a great bulk of material is required for this purpose, and the quantity and condition of the specimens I brought home did not permit of it.¹ In some cases, where the plants have been identified, they occur also in reports on the *materia medica* of other primitive peoples, and in a few instances analyses there given indicate that there may be some scientific justification for their use. Possibly in other remedies the betel-mixture which is their almost invariable accompaniment may, by the astringency of the areca-nut or the pungency of the lime, actually have some beneficial effect apart from the

¹ The treatment of sickness as practised among these natives is discussed in detail in *Folk-lore*, vol. xlv, June 1935.

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leaves or roots to which the native pins his faith. More likely still, 755
 in other cases, it may be the massage that produces the desired 757
 effect, with little reference to what is actually rubbed in or on to
 the patient, like some of our patent hair restorers. But when all
 these possibilities have been taken into account, in the majority of
 cases it seems highly probable that the medicine acts, when it acts
 at all, solely through the power of suggestion.

What may perhaps be considered as an extension of this idea 789 ●
 comes into play when the 'medicine' is rubbed on knife, digging-
 stick, or fish-line, to ensure that the implement shall do its work
 with the maximum efficiency.

Examples have been given in an earlier portion of this chapter
 of the well-known principle described by Sir James Frazer as 'con-
 tagious magic', whereby treatment meted out to an object that has
 been attached to, belonged to, or even come into physical contact
 with, an individual, reacts on the individual himself, even though
 the object treated may have been for some time removed from him.
 This kind of magic seems to be used almost exclusively with evil
 intent; I have in my records no instance where it was done for
 the individual's good.

By far the greater part of the magical procedure of these people
 comes into the other of Frazer's main categories, which he calls
 homoepathic magic, chiefly in the rather specialized form usually
 described as 'mimetic magic'. Examples occur in almost every
 department of native life. As illustrations may be cited, at random,
 the keeping of the contraceptive root in the rafters, so that 'as it
 hardens in the smoke, so the woman's belly is fastened so that she
 cannot conceive'; the avoidance of food boiled in water during the
 seclusion of a girl at her first menstrual period, lest the flow of
 blood should be too profuse; the chewing, by the boys wearing the
upi, of the long tap-root of a certain plant, 'the longer the root
 chewed, the longer the hair will grow'. All these reasons were given
 in so many words by the natives themselves, and from their
 demeanour I gathered that this was what they actually believed,
 and not a convenient method of putting off the too inquisitive
 ethnographer. It is noteworthy, incidentally, that the correspond-
 ing phraseology ('As this . . . so that') is not embodied in the form
 of words—where such is present—employed in conjunction with
 this variety of magic, as is frequently the case in other regions.

Not far removed from mimetic magic are those cases which

789 depend upon what may perhaps be termed the principle of attraction. The explanation given by the natives of the working of the 'medicine' to make a very high tide, is that the sea will be 'pulled up' by the mixture in the coco-nut which you bury above high-water mark. If you spit the chewed root of a certain creeper in the direction of a rain-cloud, it will come up and rain will fall. If you rub the scrapings of a root on the door of your hut, the wife who has left you will have her thoughts turned homewards and will return to you.

An idea underlying other forms of magic, which appears to be somewhat different from any of the foregoing, depends upon the principle of transference. A bundle of leaves is laid on the thigh of a man suffering from the effects of 'poison', a branch is waved over him in a downward direction, and the poison 'goes down into the bundle', which is then thrown away. Some of the methods of counteracting mimetic magic seem to involve transference, as when the effect of the contraceptive is removed by throwing away the root into running water. In some instances there is a near approach to the conception of the 'scape-goat', as in the treatment of the pig at the ceremony for a child of rank described in Chapter V (p. 190). I would suggest that this idea of transference is also implicit in the ritual play which forms part of the marriage ceremony, the first menstruation ceremony, and the ceremony performed when a child of rank is first allowed to be placed on the ground.

The use of talismans and amulets is very general. The bones of a river fish or the dried nest of a bush insect hung from a string round the neck of a baby will make it grow up healthy and strong. Carried somewhere on the person of an adult there will often be found a tiny bundle wrapped up in a leaf. This will probably contain scrapings of roots or leaves, perhaps mixed with lime or paint, and often with the addition of human remnants, such as portions of the skin, nails, or hair of a dead relative, or of an enemy who has been eaten. Often the possessor of such a bundle does not know what it contains, having obtained it, perhaps, from a native of a distant village, as being efficacious against 'poison' or in some other desired direction. These things are all called *ito*.

789 Of all the various substances used in magical procedure, there
775 are two which are considered more powerful than all the rest. The
778 most powerful of all is the stuff called *siriva*. The very mention of
823 the word excited a certain amount of emotion in the person speak-

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ing it, even when giving explanations to me apart from any actual ritual occasion. It is obtained from the Hahon people, in exchange for ceremonial currency and other valuables. They are said to get it from a hot spring in the mountains, at a place which belongs to Tosisiup, who lives in the volcano Balbi and has power over all the *urur* (see p. 505 for further account of him). It was only with great difficulty and in exchange for a valuable present that I was able to obtain a small quantity. It proves to be lava which has been attacked by acid vapours after the dying down of volcanic activity.¹

The power possessed by *sisiwa* is not specific, since it is employed for many purposes. Its use in love magic, in fishing magic, and in a form of black magic has already been noted. It is significant that no formula is ever used in conjunction with this substance. On making careful inquiries as to this, I was told that *sisiwa* is such strong medicine itself that it does not need any words used with it. This definitely stated belief goes to show that for these people magic is not an essentially human possession, literally and actually enshrined in man' (Malinowski, 1926 (2), p. 71). The underlying principle here seems rather to approach the conception familiar to anthropologists as *mana*, though I did not come across in these dialects the actual word *mana* or its equivalent. This 'wonder-working power perceived or at most dimly conceived by the savage to exist in whatever excites his awe' (Marett, 1929, p. 14) the *sisiwa* would acquire from its origin in the place belonging to Tosisiup, the ruler of all the *urur*, everything connected with whom is regarded by these natives with awe. This brings it into line with Codrington's statement that 'spirits, whether disembodied souls or supernatural beings, have *mana* and can impart it' (1891, p. 119).

The connexion with the spirit-world, or rather with the place of ghosts, is further emphasized by the fact that the other of these powerful substances, only less mighty than *sisiwa*, is called *magor*. *Magor* is the name of Tosisiup's brother, who is second only to him in the realm of the dead. The magic mixture contains scraps of bark, roots, and leaves, belonging to various plants, and *oin*, which is red oxide of iron. Unlike *sisiwa*, it may be associated with a form of words, as in the love magic given on p. 122 and the taro magic given on p. 301. But it is sometimes used alone, e.g. in fishing magic, where it may be chewed and spat on to the line. Another of its virtues has not yet been noticed. To make a man

¹ I am indebted to Mr. C. J. Bayland for this analysis.

789 cease to be angry with you, chew *magor* and spit it in his direction,
778 then say to him: 'Why are you and I fighting?' Then he will feel
775 kindly towards you. It is interesting to note that the influence of
magor is supposed to extend also to white men. When a visit from
the District Officer is expected, the villagers of Kurtatchi chew
magor and spit it around the place to ensure that he will not be
angry with them! It will be seen that the power of *magor* is not
specific, and I think it is fair to see the idea of *mana* underlying the
use of this substance also. These two substances are the most
precious possessions these people have, and are regarded as in a
class different from, and ranking far above, the ceremonial currency
in which they reckon their wealth.

791 Among the natives of North Bougainville, *mana* seems to belong
778 not so much to the individual who performs the ritual acts as to
789 the substance he uses. There are no persons set apart as 'medicine
men' who have qualified for the post by long training or by under-
going ordeals. I am not aware of any word in these dialects which
means a maker of magic, except in the case of black magic, which
stands in a class by itself. Otherwise the distinction is between
those who know the procedure and possess the requisite apparatus
and those who do not. Thus, Sobak and Riamē were competent
to act as rain-makers, Pinari was the specialist in dog magic, Minka
in bonito magic, Pari in the treatment of sprains and broken bones,
and so on. But Riamē could not make rain without his coco-nuts,
nor Minka bring bonito without his stone fish. Again, in the de-
scription of the taro-garden ceremony given in Chapter IX it will
be seen from incidents occurring in connexion with the proceedings
that it did not greatly matter who actually took the principal part in
washing the taro-stalks; the *ēto* was clearly regarded as the factor
of primary importance.

789 There are some other substances which, while not themselves
823 *ēto*, are frequently used as adjuncts in various forms of magical
775 procedure. Among the most important of these is the red powder
called *oin* (iron oxide) which, besides being used in personal deco-
ration, as described in Chapter XI, also plays a part in a large number
of 'medicines', both for rubbing on externally, and also for swallow-
ing, in conjunction with the appropriate leaves, roots, or whatever
it may be. It is to be noted that its virtue does not appear to lie in
the fact that it is red, since there are other varieties of red 'paint'
(*owan* and *itsu*, see p. 416) which are used for decorative purposes

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only, and not in the preparation of 'medicines', or in any magical procedure.

In this connexion also must be mentioned the multifarious uses of lime (*iav*). Not only is it added to the mixtures used for a number of medicinal and magical purposes, it is also efficacious alone, e.g. it is rubbed on to a man who is *ibwar* (see p. 516) and on to a patient suffering from a sprain or a broken bone. Instances of its use for magical purposes both with and without areca-nut occur in almost every chapter of this book. Its importance in medicine and magic in San Cristoval is pointed out by Fox (1924, p. 245), who brings evidence to show that betel-chewing is a comparatively recent innovation, and considers that the use of lime for ceremonial purposes must be earlier. He suggests as one possible reason for its being 'considered a good conductor of *mena*', that lime is necessary for the production of dyes and pigments, especially the important red dye. Lime is not used for such a purpose in North Bougainville, so that the reason for its importance in that area must lie elsewhere. That it is considered to have some intimate connexion with the *war* is clear from the practice of burning it to propitiate them when it is thought that some cause of offence has been given, e.g. in the act of cleaning the road beside the grave-yard, described on p. 517. [55]

It must be remembered that these spirits of the dead, while they are feared by the living and at the same time regarded as their helpers in time of need, are not propitiated in the ordinary routine of life, but only when it is thought that they may have been angered, or when their help is required for some definite purpose. The most usual method of appeal seems to be to mention by name one or more *war* specially appropriate to the occasion; at the taro garden those who were good gardeners, successful fishermen to ensure a good catch, and so on. Having been called upon by name, they may also be told what is desired of them in specific terms: 'Butchiar, look at that woman, bring her to me, I want her', 'Pulaget, Soat, Tsining, look at our rod and catch bonito for us', 'Sawē, Malia, Kerep, look at this broken bone and fasten it'. Again, the name of the *war* may be used without any injunction. In a treatment for strained muscle, which I witnessed, the name of the *war* Pispoa (the spirit of a man who, when he was alive, was skilled in treating similar cases) was whispered repeatedly into a lime-pot held by the operator. I was told that Pispoa then came and stayed inside the

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775 lime-pot, making the lime powerful. Lime from this pot was then
755 used in massaging the patient.

775 The question now arises, are the *urar* thus addressed being
782 cajoled into conferring a favour, or commanded to perform a task

[781]

which they cannot refuse? This has been suggested as a criterion separating religion from magic (Rivers, 1914, vol. ii, p. 405). It is true that most of the formulae are couched in the imperative. But the reverent tone in which they were spoken, in cases where I actually saw the ritual performed (less evident where it is merely related), leaves me in no doubt that it is a plea, not a command, which is intended. This is supported by the fact that the address to the *urar* is sometimes preceded by an offering of food burnt in the fire for them, or some bit of ritual involving lime. It is also consonant with the general attitude of awe, largely mingled with terror, which characterizes the relations between human beings and the *urar* throughout. (See Chapter XIV.)

[781]

● 781

In some cases formulae are used in which the *urar* do not figure. These may take the form of a direct command: 'Come, bonito, come plenty, come to my village', 'Garfish, garfish, come and take hold of my line'. Or the command may be given to the apparatus to do its work: 'Catch them, catch them', said to the bonito hook, or 'Fetch the man here', to the medicine used in war magic. Again, the formula may be a simple asseveration that what is required will, or has, come to pass: 'You and I spit on the taro, now it is large', 'All the women are waiting with their baskets, to-morrow the place will be full of *tsuwahuy*'.

[601]

In all cases where formulae are used, they are kept secret. In some, notably those used in bonito magic, it was stated that the words must be passed on only to a son or a sister's son, in others they might be told to any one, provided payment were made. I have instances in my collection of such knowledge having been obtained from father, mother, mother's brother, and grandparents, as well as from strangers. Love magic is often referred to the people of the mountains; this is interesting, as the relations between the mountain people and the coastal people are not normally friendly.

This brings us to the consideration of the place of these formulae in the native scheme of magico-religious procedure. It will have been noticed that in many cases no mention is made of any words being spoken. It may be that in some of these, the secret part of the procedure was either intentionally or inadvertently

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omitted by my informants from the account given to me. But I feel fairly sure that, if this did occur, it was not often, and does not account for the absence of the spoken word in most of the instances. Sometimes, on careful inquiry subsequently, in private, as to whether any words were used with a certain 'medicine', I have obtained the reply: 'No, it is not important enough to have any words belonging to it.' In the case of the taro-garden ceremony, which I witnessed at two different villages, in one, Kurtatchi, certain *urar* were called upon, but in the other performance of the same kind of ceremony, at Tabut, no words were used. On making inquiries as to this, I was told that the garden was not big enough to call upon the *urar*, but if the garden had been a very large one, the *urar* would have been called. Further, it is to be noted that while the deed is often sufficient without the word, the word is never found alone, but always in conjunction with some act. The formula is spoken while washing the taro stalks, or while rubbing the fish-line, or breathing into the lime-pot, or, in love magic, while cutting the stem of a creeper, and so on. Another point of interest is that no great stress appears to be laid upon the exact reproduction of a form of words. Pinari varied his method of calling upon the *urar* at the taro-garden ceremony, as also the names of the *urar* called upon, the essential point being that all should have been good gardeners while they lived. The same thing happened in other connexions, and on making cautious inquiries about these changes, I was informed that they did not matter. On the evidence available, it would seem that the efficiency of the performance does not in all, perhaps not in most, cases depend upon the accompanying form of words. I suggest that the opinion expressed by Malinowski (1926 (2), p. 68) in regard to the Trobrianders, 'the most important element in magic is the spell', which is also accepted by Firth (1929, p. 259) for the Maori, is not applicable to the natives of the NW. Solomons, for whom what is done, not what is said, seems to be the essential thing. In this connexion, it is interesting to note that while, for the Maori, 'the term *karakia*, meaning, strictly, the formula which is uttered, is also used as a generic term for magic', for the natives of North Bougainville, in so far as they use a generic term for magic at all, it is the word *lto*, which means the 'medicine' that is used, and is never applied to the formula. I think this may be taken as expressive of an actual and fundamental difference between the two conceptions.

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Malinowski's third essential element in the magical act, the condition of the performer (1922, p. 403), seems again to be of secondary importance among these people. Beyond going out early into the bush to search for the necessary leaves, Pinari underwent no preparation for his role in the taro-washing ceremony, and that none was necessary is clear from the fact that when the ceremony was actually in progress, another man, Sobak, was asked to take a principal part in it. The net-whipping ritual witnessed by me at Petats before a pig hunt was undertaken upon a sudden notion, and no steps were taken by Hulasuat, who played the principal part, to put himself into an appropriate mood or condition. Apart from personal observation, there is the negative evidence that in the course of many discussions concerning magical procedure of all kinds, little stress was laid by my informants on special rules to be observed by the men or women concerned therein. The most noteworthy exception is in the case of bonito magic, where the principal performer must neither eat nor sleep until the rites are over. He must also abstain from sexual intercourse, but this taboo applies also to all those who take part in the bonito fishing.

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Before leaving the subject of magical procedure, something must be said about taboo. Although the idea underlying taboo among these people has much in common with that familiar to us in the Maori *tapu*, the stress is, I think, rather different. If the primary connotation in Polynesia may be said to be 'sacred' with 'prohibited' as a corollary, it seems to me that among the natives of the NW. Solomons the relative importance of these two concepts is reversed. Two expressions are relevant in this connexion. In one of these the connotation 'sacred' is perhaps implicit, i.e. the word *tsūbun*, which is applied, not to persons, but to places, such, for example, as the retreat of the boys prior to their first puberty ceremony, deep in the recesses of the bush, which it was death to women to see. In describing this my informants said: '*A nōnō tsūbun non.*' 'The *nōnō* (shed in which the boys live) is taboo.' The other expression, much more frequently on their lips, relates to the prohibitions which govern their daily lives. It is applied neither to places nor to persons, but always, so far as my knowledge goes, to actions, such as the eating of certain food by specified persons or groups or at specified times, or the avoidances to be observed between individuals who stand to each other in certain relationships. In referring to taboos of this kind the people say: '*Mom to babēn nom*'—

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'we are forbidden'. Many examples of such taboos are scattered throughout the pages of this book, in their appropriate context. Those who break them incur the risk of certain penalties, usually of a very definite and specific kind. To give two examples chosen at random, if the father of a new-born child fails to observe the taboos on his activities which anthropologists call, collectively, *couvade*, the child will die; if a small child eats sugar-cane, warts will appear on his skin. Sometimes the breaking of a taboo by an individual is thought to involve the whole village in its consequences. In any case the offender incurs the displeasure of the community, which is a very real punishment, even if it does not (as it may) go so far as to lead to the making of 'poison' against him. The sanctions appear to be chiefly, if not exclusively, social. I never heard that any of these taboos were prescribed by the *war* nor are there in my collection of myths and legends any purporting to account for them. 784

While the actual practical effect of the taboos on the natives is to cause them to refrain from certain actions through fear of consequences, the effect of magical procedure in general is the positive one of giving 'moral support'. I am sure, from watching the demeanour of hunters before and after a rite has been performed, that it does, in fact, increase their chances of success by increasing their confidence. The same thing applies to love magic, and to the measures for the treatment of sickness, call them medicine or magic as you will. As a not unimportant side-issue, it may be noted that in the case of public ceremonies such as that performed for the planting of the new taro garden, there is also the advantage that they are festive occasions, eagerly anticipated long beforehand, and enjoyed in retrospect long afterwards, and further, that they tend to foster a feeling of social solidarity in the members of the group. Taking it by and large, all the positive side of magical procedure with its associated ideas seems to work for the good of native society, and it would appear that efforts on the part of the whites to stamp it out cannot but react to the disadvantage of the community. But, on the other hand, there seems no room for doubt that the fear of black magic casts a great shadow over the existence of each and every individual, a shadow from the oppressive influence of which he is never wholly free. His lot would be vastly happier if this could be removed, but so deep-rooted is his belief that I doubt if any measures that could possibly be devised 789

- 789 to this end would have more than the most superficial effect. He knows that the white man does not believe in it, but that is merely due to the white man's blindness, and any attempts to argue to the contrary would be fruitless. On more than one occasion people have said to me: 'The white man thinks it is rubbish, but we know it is true.'

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pigs, taro, and coco-nuts belonging to the dead man are used to provide food for the mourners from other villages. It is understood that to provide inadequately would be a grave insult, but that is the case at any ceremony to which visitors come from a distance, and while the quantity required would be in proportion to the importance of the deceased, this is only because the number of mourners would be proportionately large. Neither the quantity nor the display are regarded as being of benefit to the dead man on his arrival at the place of the *urar*.

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775*Relations between the urar and the living*

One other aspect of the subject dealt with in this chapter remains to be discussed in connexion with the people of my own particular area, namely, the very definite part which the *urar* play in the life of the present-day natives. It will be clear from other portions of this book that they are never for long unmindful of the existence of the *urar* and that this influences in no small degree their daily thoughts and actions.

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The *urar* are not necessarily maleficent. As has been shown in the account of taro-planting, hunting, and fishing, &c., part of the magical procedure connected with all of these consists of calling by name upon the *urar* of people who had been especially successful in these occupations during their lifetime.

But for the most part they are regarded with dread, as powerful enemies who will, if they can, do harm to the living and even cause death. It is largely this fear that makes every one so chary of being in the bush alone, especially at night. There are a number of preparations of roots and leaves which are to be chewed, or in some cases carried, by any one obliged to be out after dark, for the purpose of keeping the *urar* away. The same fear leads them to desert a village in which several people have died, even though they may only move a short distance.

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An incident which took place at Kurtatchi after the death of Maravin is interesting both in this connexion and for its bearing on the belief that a dead man does not become an *urar* immediately. Being without female relatives, Maravin had shared his hut with some of the boys wearing the *upi*, their own *tobar* not having been moved from the old village. They slept in the hut the night of the day of which he died, apparently without qualms, but after about three weeks they began to be restless, and a few days later they ran

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

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Kurtatchi

DEATH AND THE URAR

seemed to be himself again, but he did not want to talk about his experience. The villagers said he had these attacks more often than other people.

It is perhaps relevant to mention here that some weeks later the same man, when talking to me about love magic, told me that he had an *urur* that belonged to him particularly. His name was Butchiar, and he showed him the magic in a dream. He said that when he wanted to know anything, such as what 'medicine' to use in a given case, he asked Butchiar, who told him. Tchiriv had no particular reputation as a magician among the villagers, and no one seemed to take either him or Butchiar very seriously, but once when they began calling a young man whom I knew as Kakari by the name of Bori, I asked the reason for the change, and Kakari said that Tchiriv had given him the new name, saying that Butchiar had told him to do so.

The fourth case, which took place some three months later, was that of Minka, a middle-aged man, who rushed round the village throwing logs about. He said afterwards that Maravin's *urur*¹ made him mad, because it was angry about Maravin's grandson, and told Minka that the boy, Kiram, was not getting enough to eat. While he was alive he always looked after him. A young man who heard Minka telling me this said that there were several houses where the boy was given food, and that the *urur* had lied!

The fifth case, Togen, also a middle-aged man, occurred two months after the fourth. It so happened that I was away from the village all day, so I did not see the man during the attack, which was reported to have been a mild one. When I questioned him later, he could give me no information about it whatever.

While talking over with me the episode in which Pinari had figured, my servant said that if he wished he could call the spirit (*amat*) of one of the important men belonging to his family to come and stop inside him, then if he were angry with a man he could send the spirit to kill that man. As long as he was kind to the spirit and gave it food it would not make him mad. Every time he ate he would have to put some food up in the rafters of the house in a special place. If he did not the spirit would be angry and make him mad and he would go about chasing people. He was very serious throughout the talk and ended by saying: "This is really true about the Kanakas (the name used by the natives for themselves when

¹ Maravin is the old man who had died (on May 10, see pp. 484, 515.)

APPENDIX III

824 Identification of some of the plants used for medical and
 278 magical purposes by the natives of Buka and North
 789 Bougainville¹

Botanical name	Native name	Portion used	Purpose
Acanthaceae	<i>karawinao</i>	leaves	in childbirth
Achryanthus aspera	<i>toiwano</i>	leaves	for a boil
		root	for swollen leg
Aspidum latifolium	<i>tikirir</i>	leaves	for a boil
Barringtonia sp. (edulis?)	<i>karu</i>	bark	in childbirth
		"	in fishing magic
Bidens pilosa	<i>vakot</i>	root	stomach-ache
		leaves	taro magic
		"	love magic
Biophytum cunningianum	<i>owa gurus bai'i</i>	whole plant	magic to make child go to sleep
Calamus sp.	<i>garian</i>	root	constipation
		"	fishing magic
		leaves	headache
Calophyllum sp.	<i>tui</i>	root	septic sore
(Inophyllum?)		bark	rain magic
Canarium commune	<i>uinao</i>	bark	pain in back
			bad sore
			fishing magic
Caryota sp.	<i>kat fiam</i>	bark	yaws
		fruit	hunting magic
		root	taro magic
		root and leaves	fishing magic
Codiaeum variegatum (croton)	<i>takuruts</i>	root	septic sore
Codiaeum variegatum (croton)	<i>niniy</i>	root	love magic
		leaves	rain magic
Coleus Blumei var.	<i>iag</i>	leaves	magic to prevent sun-stroke
		"	used at betrothal
Coleus sp.	<i>muntl</i>	root	cramp in leg
		leaves	magic to induce sleep
Cordyline ferrea	<i>ariho</i>	root	constipation
Cordyline terminalis	<i>ta'un</i>	leaves	feverish headache
		"	in menstruation ceremony

¹ For the majority of the identifications I am indebted to the authorities at the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

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<i>Botanical name</i>	<i>Native name</i>	<i>Portion used</i>	<i>Purpose</i>
<i>Cordyline terminalis</i>	<i>ta'un</i>	leaves	at funeral rites
		"	for rain magic
		"	many other magical purposes
<i>Crinum asiaticum</i>	<i>bariur</i>	root	in childbirth
		"	coco-nut magic
		"	fishing magic
<i>Cycas</i> sp.	<i>kiki'ia</i>	midrib of leaf	to make mourning belts
<i>Cymbopogon</i> sp.	<i>manini</i>	leaves	for blood in urine
		root	fishing magic
<i>Desmodium adhaerens</i>	<i>roabi</i>	leaves	for sickly child
		"	stomach-ache
<i>Desmodium adhaerens</i>	<i>rarakot</i>	leaves and root	fishing magic
<i>Digitaria pruriens</i>	<i>waras</i>	whole plant	to make child grow
<i>Dryopteris milneana</i> or <i>truncata</i>	<i>pupuna</i>	leaves	for a boil
		root	for wound made by embedded arrow
<i>Dryopteris mollis</i>	<i>tontom</i>	leaves	to make child grow
<i>Dryopteris pteroides</i>	<i>ga-gi</i>	leaves and root	protection against sickness
<i>Eleusine indica</i>	<i>bakbak</i>	whole plant	to make child grow
<i>Eragrostis tenella</i>	<i>kokui</i>	whole plant	for scabies
<i>Eranthemum</i>	<i>karauihoa</i>	root	for indigestion
<i>Whartonianum</i>		"	to remove object stuck in throat
<i>Eranthemum</i> sp.	<i>buruti</i>	young leaves	for yaws
<i>Erythrina indica</i>	<i>wanono</i>	leaves	in childbirth
		bark	for broken bone
<i>Euphorbia atoto</i>	<i>potsip</i>	root	fishing magic
<i>Euphorbia hirta</i>	<i>sip</i>	flowers	cure for barrenness
<i>Evodia hortensis</i>	<i>owen, powen</i>	whole plant	to protect against war
<i>Fleurya sestuans</i>	<i>maribean</i>	skin of stem and root	for sore on sole of foot
<i>Fleurya interrupta</i>	<i>bobaukur</i>	flowers	for sore on sole of foot
		leaves	at puberty rites
<i>Ipomoea biloba</i>	<i>niwain</i>	leaves	for digestive troubles
		"	to make pig grow
<i>Justicia</i> sp.	<i>tepanamoni</i>	leaves	for strain or sprain
		"	for septic sore
		"	child's disease
		"	for stomach-ache
		"	for a boil
		"	to make child grow
<i>Leos</i> sp.	<i>b5</i>	leaves	for pain in breast after suckling

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<i>Botanical name</i>	<i>Native name</i>	<i>Portion used</i>	<i>Purpose</i>
824 <i>Leptaspis Banksii</i>	meane	root and flowers	fighting magic
278 <i>Licuala</i>	win	root	contraceptive
789 <i>Lygodium dichotomum</i> Sw.	asam	root lower end of stem	contraceptive to strengthen sickly child
<i>Mallotus</i> sp.	aholon (Petats dialect)	root	contraceptive
<i>Malvaceae</i> (hibiscus)	oddb	leaves and root	cough, and sore throat
<i>Menispermaceae</i>	tatsir	leaves	child's fever
<i>Mollugo stricta</i>	kokui	root	to control menstruation
<i>Morinda citrifolia</i>	rivo	whole plant	to make smoke to keep off mosquitoes
		bark	in childbirth
		leaves	dysentery
		leaves and root	fishing magic
<i>Ocimum Basilicum</i>	massi	leaves	rain magic
<i>Oldenlandia paniculata</i>	rahok	leaves	for a burn
<i>Ophiorrhiza rupestris</i>	tuntun	whole plant	love magic
<i>Paspalum conjugatum</i>	wanis	root	for sore throat
<i>Pennisetum macrostachyum</i>		sap	for stomach-ache
<i>Phyllanthus Niruri</i>	pa'ukes	root	to make sea smooth
<i>Physalis angulata</i>	trumargin	seeds	for pain in chest
<i>Piper betel</i>	tot/sapō	leaf-bud	cure for barrenness
<i>Piper</i> sp.	nik, panek	leaves and root	love magic
	mansian	leaves and root	headache and internal pain
<i>Pteris ensiformis</i>		leaves	for a boil
<i>Pteris tripartita</i> Sw.	sip-sip	root	to relieve extreme pain
<i>Roxburghia</i> sp.	pupuna	leaves	to control menstruation
<i>Rubiaceae</i>	betil	leaves	in childbirth
	harasinosa	leaves and root	for a boil
<i>Rutaceae</i>		branch	fishing magic
<i>Scleria lithosperma</i>	harab	leaves	to keep away war
<i>Selaginella flabellata</i>	hablu	grass	to cause abortion
Spring	hakariuk	leaves	for fever
<i>Terminalia Catappa</i>		root	for feverish headache
	hort	bark	to control menstruation
<i>Vitex Lagundi</i>		leaves	for a sore
<i>Wedelia biflora</i>	papawan	root	for yaws
	siakun	leaves	contraceptive
			for a spear or arrow wound

there are ornamental objects shells and other materials that are occasionally 30/
put on.

The islanders wear a twofold ornament as war decoration. First the 30/
head is decorated with a plume made of white and yellow cockatoo feathers. 74
Then [20] the warrior hangs a bunch of red and yellow-colored leaf strips
around his neck and arranges it in such a way that it hangs down his back.
In Buka this ornament is called kehala; it is made of strips of dried palm
leaves approximately 50 centimeters long which are firmly fastened to-
gether at one end to form a round button, to which the cord that is put
around the neck is attached. The strips that hang down loose are dyed red
for a distance of about 10 centimeters from the button; then there is a
section of about 10 centimeters which is left its original color; the re-
mainder--about 30 centimeters--is again dyed red. This dye pattern,
however, is not constant, even though it is the one that occurs by far the
most frequently; it seems to be adjusted to the taste of the individual, but
the red color is never missing. The kehala is a talisman that is supposed to [78] ●
protect one from being wounded in war, and it corresponds to the actual war [71]
ornament of the Admiralty Islanders, which consists of a human bone that
is tightly wound with the pinions of the frigate bird.

The men pierce the septum of the nose and insert a plug of polished 30/
tridacna shell through the opening. This plug, called huin in Buka, varies 304/
in length and thickness; I have seen some 13 centimeters in length and 1
centimeter in diameter. Both ends of the carefully smoothed and rounded
huin are pointed.

Earrings are not frequent, but here and there the young men wear ear
ornaments (hakoto in Buka) made of white snail shells and differing in form
and arrangement. Normally 3 to 10 white snail shells are sewed on each
side of a straight little piece of wood, and a single snail finishes off the row
at the lower end; sometimes the wood is bent or broken and sewed only on
one side with snail shells; normally a red-dyed strip of rattan is fastened
lengthwise over the wood to conceal the threads with which the snails are
attached.

Chest ornaments are likewise not common; apart from the now very 30/
fashionable European beads I observed two different breast plates that are 17/
similar in form. Both consist of a circular plate of polished tridacna shell.
One type is decorated by placing on it a thin plate of tortoise shell with
filigree work; in Buka it is called gulu, and it is identical with the same
ornament in the Admiralty Islands, in New Mecklenburg, and in the southern
Solomon Islands, although it does not reach by far the refinement of the

Collectanea

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against him. But, as will be seen, there are certain conditions for which what we might term natural causes are regarded as sufficient explanation. In either case, whatever is done to combat the disease is looked upon as entirely comparable to the procedure employed to ensure success in procuring food or in making love. Any substance—usually, but not always, some portion of a plant—employed in either connexion is known as *āto*, which, in accordance with what I believe to be the native point of view, I have uniformly translated "medicine." Anyone who knows the appropriate medicine may treat a patient. The "prescriptions" are usually learned from a near relative: father, mother or mother's brother. This knowledge is not necessarily, though it may be, possessed by individuals who are skilled in "making medicine" for other purposes.

FRACTURES AND SPRAINS

A sprain or a strained muscle is described by the same term as a fracture (*takok* = broken). I met one man (at Petats, an islet off the west coast of Buka) and three women (at Kurtatchi) who were known for their skill in such cases. They treated patients of both sexes, except persons to whom they stood in certain taboo relationships which prohibited physical contact. The following procedure is typical:

Ketar, a young woman, strained her shoulder by carrying too heavy a load of taro. I watched her being treated by Pari, an elderly woman, who subsequently gave me details of the secret mixture she used, asking me not to tell any of the other natives. This mixture (*rōm*) consisted of the pulped roots of a plant called *tengnamani* (*Justicia* sp.) mixed with a quantity of *oin* (a red powder, a variety of iron oxide, much used in this region for various magical purposes) and stirred into sea water. Pari has taught the secret to her sister's son, together with the method of using the mixture. At Tabut the root of *wamōmō* (*Erythrina*, the "coral tree") is used in the same manner. When it was ready she took up her lime pot and, putting it close to her mouth, called softly, many times, "Pispoa, Pispoa, Pispoa." Pispoa is the name of the spirit of a man who, when he was alive, was successful with this treatment. Pispoa then came and